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AUTHOR Brett, Belle
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ABSTRACT

Inner City, Inc. is a wholly owned subsidiary of Polaroid Corporation, in Roxbury, Massachusetts, that has provided job training for the past 20 years to Boston's unemployed, underemployed, and disadvantaged residents, with entry into meaningful employment. Training occurs within the framework of an actual manufacturing environment so that the trainees can gain an understanding of the real work world while having access to a variety of educational and support services. Approximately 100 trainees are placed in permanent jobs each year. In order to determine graduate characteristics and job retention rates, a questionnaire was sent to the placement sites of 338 Inner City graduates of 1984-1986, with a response of 79 percent from personnel representatives. Other data were supplied by Inner City, Inc. records. Among the findings of the study were that the median age of graduates was 25, the median time spent at Inner City was 6 months, and nearly all graduates were minorities (93 percent black). The study also found that the percentage of students placed in high technology firms has decreased sharply over the 3 years under study. Average wages have gone up from about $5 to about $6 an hour. Most employers reported that graduates were above-average performers. Those employed more than 1 year at the same company were more likely to be women, to be older, to have been placed in 1984 rather than 1985 or 1986, and to have been in the Inner City program a longer time. Although causes and effects could not be linked in the study, the data pointed to positive outcomes of the training program. (Author/KC)

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ED308387

POLAROID/INNER CITY, INC.

A SUMMARY OF GRADUATE CHARACTERISTICS AND JOB RETENTION

1984-1986

Prepared by Belle Brett for:

INNER CITY, INC.

A Wholly Owned Subsidiary of POLAROID CORPORATION

December, 1988

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A.B.C. Plastics
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Analog Devices
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Bank of Boston
Barry Controls
BASF
Baystate Bindery
Beacon Auto Radiator
Boston Fuel Consortium
Boston Housing Authority
Brewer and Lloyd Insurance Co.
Brigham and Women's Hospital
Burtman Ironworks
Business Interiors
Carters, Inc.
Chatel Industries
Children's Hospital
Cole Hersee Co.
Compugraphics
Copy Cops
Copley Place
Copley Plaza Hotel
Digital Equipment Corporation
Dupont
Elizabeth Grady Salon
Embassy Suites Hotel
Emerson College
Fire Control Instruments
First Security
Four Seasons Hotel
General Computer
Graphic Equipment Co.
Greenery Rehabilitation Hospital
Guardian Business Services
Haemonetics
Hewlett-Packard
Howard Johnson's
Hub Mail Advertising
Hyatt Regency Hotel
IPAK
Kloss Video
Mariott Hotels
Massachusetts State Archives
MBTA
Massachusetts General Hospital
Medi-Tech
Merrill Lynch
Nabisco
Nuestro Communidad Development Corp.
9 West
Northeastern University
Ortho-Diagnostic Instruments
Park Plaza Hotel
Pier #7
Photo Resources Corp.
Prime Computer
Sears, Roebuck, and Co.
Sheraton Hotel, Boston
Stevens Arnold
Tab Associates
Teck Color
Teredyne
University Hospital
Unitrode
Veterans' Administration Hospital
Wang Labs
Westin Hotel
Wheeler Manufacturing Co.

PREFACE

Inner City, Inc. is a wholly-owned subsidiary of Polaroid Corporation, located in the Roxbury section of Boston. Without the use of public funding, Polaroid created this unique job training program twenty years ago, to provide Boston's unemployed, underemployed, and disadvantaged residents with entry into meaningful employment.

Training occurs within the framework of an actual manufacturing environment so that the trainees can gain an understanding of the real work world, where good work habits and job attitudes are necessary. Trainees also have access to a variety of supportive services such as educational programs and career and personal counseling.

A variety of assembly, packaging, silkscreening, copying, offset printing, and related service subcontracts from Polaroid and other private and public sector organizations provides both the program's funding and training vehicles.

Since 1968, more than 1,800 Inner City "graduates" have been placed in permanent jobs in manufacturing settings, high technology companies, educational institutions and, more recently, the service industry. Approximately 100 trainees are placed in permanent jobs each year.

Beginning in 1982, Inner City has carried out follow-up placement reviews. It is our hope that the results of Inner City's 1987 follow-up review contained in this report will be of use to employers, training program operators, and others with an interest in the field.

I. INTRODUCTION

As Polaroid/Inner City, Inc. enters its twenty-first year, it continues to reflect on its success in assisting its graduates find and maintain meaningful employment. This report is a summary of the fourth in an ongoing series of studies designed to present not only a profile of Inner City, Inc. graduates and their placements, but also an analysis of their employment status in their original work sites for up to four years after placement. Access to greater computer capability has allowed this report to present more associations among factors than in previous Inner City, Inc. placement retention studies.

II. BACKGROUND

A. Other Relevant Retention Studies

Since the early Job Corps days in the 1960's, evaluation has been a critical piece of all training programs of the "hard-core unemployed." However, these studies generally focussed on percentage placed into jobs and starting wages, compared with wages prior to training, rather than looking at training graduates after they entered the workplace. Since funding regulations did not require post-training follow-up, little research pursued training graduates in their new work sites beyond three months. Therefore, not much exists in print describing the kinds of people who are most likely to persist in jobs. Experimental research, which would show the value of training versus no training, has been infrequently carried out in this arena.

The 1984 Inner City study summarizes the research on retention of hard-core unemployed (Ammarell and Moore, A Review of Job Placements, 1982-1984, p. 2, ED 267 176). Some additional studies have been reviewed for this report. Key findings have been--

employee characteristics
*age-older workers are more likely to stay on the job
*gender-when wage rates are equivalent, there are few differences
*race-when other factors are held constant, blacks and whites are similar
*job history-holding fewer previous jobs over a given time is correlated with longer retention
*marital status-family men and women have higher retention
*previous welfare status-those who had been on welfare previously are less likely to stay on the job
*perceptions--beliefs in promotion possibilities, job security, and higher status of job contributed to greater retention

training program characteristics
*length of program-the longer the program, the lower the retention in the program
*inclusion of basic remedial reading and oral skills/counseling-some evidence exists that the addition of these components to a program improves retention

work site characteristics
*wage rate and size and rapidity of wage increases--the larger these factors, the greater the retention
*firm size--in general, the larger the firm, the greater the retention
*firm location--in general, the closer the proximity of the firm to the neighborhood of residence the higher the retention

The bulk of studies on the "hard-core unemployed" were conducted in the 1970's and encompass three kinds of training programs--on-the-job, classroom training, and work experience programs. Inner City, Inc. most closely falls under the category of this third kind. Findings are hard to generalize because of the different populations, design of programs, and contexts of placement. Attitudinal variables, not measured in this study, show some promise in helping us to understand better why certain individuals remain in their jobs. These include the worker's belief in his/her ability to do the job, a belief that work will be rewarded, and a belief that the benefits minus the costs are worthwhile.

B. Other Inner City, Inc. Retention Studies

Polaroid/Inner City, Inc. first began to conduct its own follow-up retention studies in 1982. (See Appendix A for a summary of the past three studies.) The first study covered trainees who were placed between January, 1979, and December, 1981 (N=305, 83% returns). 65% were reported to have stayed on their jobs beyond the first year of placement. The second study, in July 1983, covered the placement period of January 1981 through March 1983 (N=163, 87% returns) and included a year of overlap (January-December 1981) with the previous study. 64% of this group were still employed with their original placement employer. The most recent study before this one included the placement period between January, 1982 and March 1984 (N=201, 91% returns). 58.5% were still employed in their original sites, and the one year retention rate for 1982 was found to be over 70%. The number of employers represented by these studies were 62 for the first study and 65 for the third study (no figures are available for the second study). Some comparisons with findings in this latter study are made in this report where appropriate.

III. METHODOLOGY OF 1988 STUDY

From January, 1984 through December, 1986, 338 graduates of Inner City were successfully placed in organizations within the Greater Boston area (130 in 1984, 106 in 1985, and 102 in 1986). Inner City records provided background and placement data while a two page questionnaire, based on the retention study survey of 1984, was sent to personnel representatives in the graduates' original placement sites to obtain current or most recent employment information. (See Appendix B for questionnaire and letter.) Overall response rate was 79.6%, or 269 usable surveys. Not all questions were completed as company policies, especially in the case of larger employers, often prevent releasing more than last date of employment. Non-respondents were more likely to represent firms which had hired only one Inner City, Inc. graduate during the three years under study (36 out of 48 employers). Small service organizations inside Route 128 comprised the majority of these organizations. However, where data is supplied by Inner City, Inc., the entire sample will be represented in the following statistics.

IV. GENERAL PROFILE OF GRADUATES

See Appendix C for breakdown by year.

* placement organizations-- **Of those on whom retention data was obtained, 269 trainees were placed in 70 different organizations. In all, the 338 total placements represented 109 organizations.** Only five organizations had more than ten placements (BASF-56, Unitrode-34, Wang-29, Medi-Tech--15, and the Marriott Hotels--13), accounting for 43.5% of trainees. Eighteen other firms had more than two placements, and 13 had two.

* gender-- **Slightly more than half of all the trainees were women (55%).** The proportions of men and women in each year differed somewhat: 46% male in 1984, 36% male in 1985 and 54% male in 1986.

* marital status and children-- While **almost half of the whole group had children,** women were more likely to have children than men (56% compared with 41%). Only 19% of women and 13% of men were married at the time they entered Inner City. Married women are as likely to have children as single women, while married men are much more likely to have children than single men (84% compared with 35%).

* education-- **The last grade in school attended by the majority was the twelfth** (61%--self-reported), with only the 1985 group deviating somewhat from this pattern (51%).

* time spent at Inner City-- **Median time spent at Inner City was six months,** one month less than in the previous study. However, the range was from less than one month to twenty-two months. No clear gender trends emerge, but by year, some differences do occur.

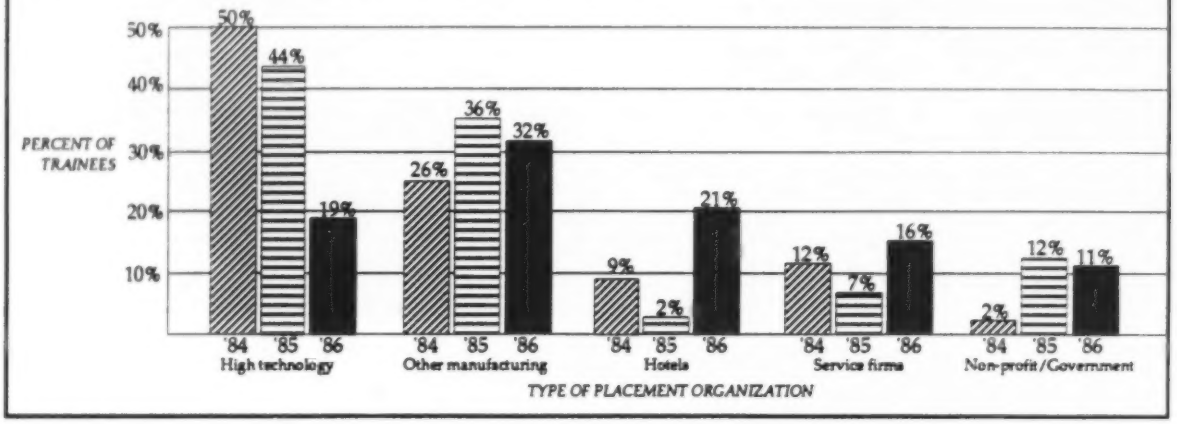
* age-- **Twenty-five was the median age at placement** (compared with 23 in the previous study), with 1986 having an older group than 1984 or 1985. There were no differences in median age between men and women although women's average age was a year and a half greater than the men's. Trainees were as young as 18 and as old as 65 upon placement.

* race/ethnicity-- As in the last study, **nearly all graduates were minorities,** with over 93% black.

* type of placement organization-- Types of organizations represented included small and large high technology firms; other manufacturing; hotels; small service industries, such as photocopying, dry cleaners, and beauty salons; retail outlets; hotels; publishing; government; higher education institutions; and health and human services.

The percentage of students placed in high technology firms has decreased sharply over the three years under study. (In this study, hi-tech firms are those producing computer hardware or software or involved in other state-of-the-art electronics.) **Other manufacturing has stayed relatively steady, with increases in the service sector,** especially hotels, which represented 21% of all placements in 1986. (See Table 1)

FIGURE 1. *Percentage of trainees in each type of placement organization, by year.*



* <u>gender and type of placement organization</u>-- **Overall, women are more likely than men to be in hi-tech settings** (45% of all women compared with 32% of all men), whereas **men are slightly more likely than women to be in other manufacturing firms** (35% of men compared with 27% of women). However, there are no consistent patterns year by year between men and women in type of organization where placement occurs.

* <u>location of placement organizations</u>-- All trainees in hotels and other service organizations were within Route 128, as were most of those in non-profits (96%). Those in hi-tech are more likely to be inside of Route 128 as well (57%), while those in other manufacturing are more likely to be outside of Route 128 (58%). **With each successive year, more trainees worked inside of Route 128 (almost three-quarters by 1986).**

* <u>size of placement organizations</u>-- Trainees in manufacturing and hotels are found more often in settings with more than 500 employees (74% and 97% respectively) while those in other service organizations are more likely to be in smaller settings (71%). Those in hi-tech or non-profit are in approximately equal numbers in large and small settings.

* <u>gender in relation to size and location or placement organizations</u>-- Women are more likely to be inside Route 128 (72%) than outside 128 and have an equal chance of being in a small or large organization. Men are slightly more likely to be inside Route 128 (57%), but much more likely to be in large organizations (68%).

* <u>type of work</u>-- Overall, **assembly work is the most common (43%), followed by machine operation (23%) and clerical (11%)**. Assembly work was the most common kind of job in 1984 and 1985 when a large percentage of trainees were placed in high technology firms. Machine operators and technicians became more prominent in 1986, and clerical work was on the rise.

* wages-- As would be expected, average starting wages have gone up during each placement year. The mean/median wages were--

1984 $5.10/$5.05
1985 $5.24/$5.30
1986 $5.82/$6.00

Women's wages are slightly lower than men's for all placement years. We find no consistent patterns in wage scales for different types of organizations from year to year. However, significant differences occur between wages in large and small organizations. For placement years 1985 and 1986, the median hourly wage for those working in large organizations is approximately a dollar more than for those working in organizations with less than 500 employees.

V. SUMMARY OF DATA ON THOSE STILL EMPLOYED

Although this study is more concerned with comparisons between those at their placement sites a year or more and those who leave before a year, a few pertinent statistics on those individuals who remain at their first Inner City placement, regardless of time on the job, are included here (n=71). Response rates for each question were over 85% unless otherwise indicated.

* percentage in same job as when hired-- The majority of trainees still employed in their original placement sites are also reported to be in the same job for which they were hired (63%). The figures differ greatly by year, with 46% of the 1984 group, 90% of the 1985 group, and 60% of the 1986 group remaining in their placement positions. Although on the job less time than the 1985 graduates, the 1986 group appears to have more job mobility.

* reasons for title change-- Promotion is the most common reason for a title change, with 45% of those reporting a reason citing it compared with 56% in the 1984 study. (27% gave no reasons for title changes.)

* performance level of those still employed-- Most notable is the variation in the response rate of employers from 46% of the 1984 group to 95% of the 1985 group. Of those who did report, few indicated below average performance. This figure is not surprising, given the fact that graduates were still employed at their original placement settings. Overall of those reporting, 28% of trainees still on the job were rated above average, with 50% of the 1984 group, 28% of the 1985 group, and 16% of the 1986 group. Since the 1984 trainees have been on the job the longest, it is also not surprising that they are the group with the highest ratings. (The figure is also possibly skewed by the lower response rate.)

* differentials between starting and current wages-- As would be expected, differentials between starting wages and current wages increase with each placement year since those from earlier years have had more opportunity to stay on the job longer. The hourly differential for those still on the job from 1984 is $2.08 and decreases to $1.38 for the 1985 group, and $.76 for trainees from 1986.

* current wages-- The mean and median current wages also decrease with each successive year. Those who were placed in 1984 now earn a median wage of $7.23 compared with $6.45 for the 1985 group and $6.17 for the 1986 group, with an overall response rate of 65%. The mean wage differential for men and women is the

same although women's wages are slightly lower.

VI. SUMMARY OF DATA ON THOSE NO LONGER EMPLOYED AT ORIGINAL PLACEMENT SITES

* reasons for separation-- Reasons for leaving are relatively consistent from year to year. **Resignation is the most common reason for separation from the company.**

resignation	64%
termination	24%
layoff	7%
no information	6% (83% of this group were employed by hotels)

Of those who reported, 1985 graduates saw slightly more layoffs than other groups (14% compared with 4% for 1984 and 2% for 1986). In some instances resignations were "forced", thus skewing the data. ("Forced resignations" which were indicated were counted as terminations.) In others, the employee just simply failed to show up to work permanently. Likewise, some terminations were voluntary and more like resignations.

* reasons for resignation-- **Among those who resigned, leaving to take another job was the most common response** followed by personal or health reasons. However answers were generally scattered. (52% response rate for this question)

* attitudes towards rehiring by employers of resignees-- Although 58% of trainees' employers did not respond, of those who answered, **57% said they would rehire the resigned employee**, compared with 50% in the previous study.

* reasons for termination-- **Absenteeism was by far the major reason for termination** as it was in the previous study, with 53% of those responding indicating this choice. Another 15% selected performance as the reason for termination. 33% gave some other answer. These findings correspond with the research on the subject. (85% response rate)

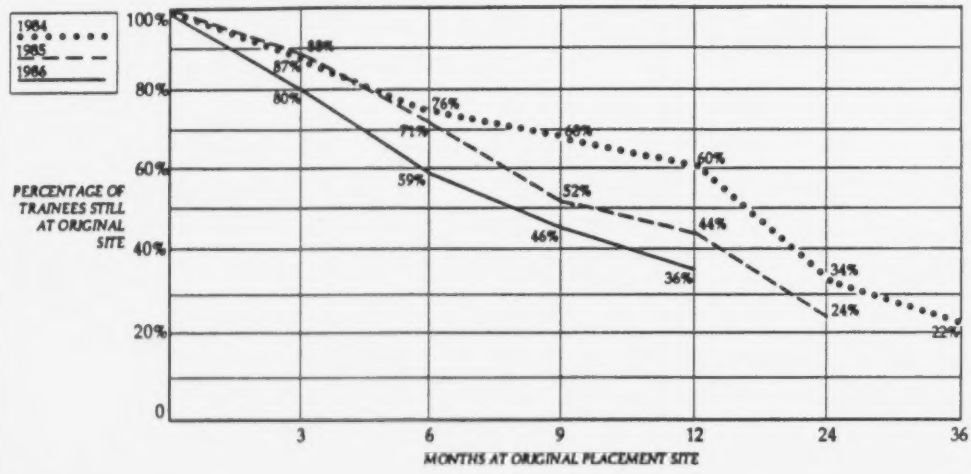
* overall comparison of those who left and those who stayed-- **There are virtually no differences in the profiles of those who left jobs because of termination, resignation, and layoff, compared with each other and with the whole sample.**

* reasons for leaving by type of placement organization-- **Reasons for leaving original employment do not differ greatly among types of placement organizations.** Terminations appear slightly more often in services and non-profits, and lay-offs occur more often in traditional manufacturing.

* gender differences-- **66% of those still employed are women, compared with 55% of those not employed.** Of those no longer employed, about one-fifth of both men and women left their original work sites within the first three months. Women's reasons for separation were comparable at different points in time, with approximately three-quarters resigning. Men, however, were equally as likely to be terminated as to resign in the first three months, but much more likely to resign after that point. No layoffs were reported for men or women where the work period was less than three months.

VII. LENGTH OF TIME AT ORIGINAL PLACEMENT SITE

FIGURE 2. *Length of time at original placement site by placement year.*



Note *: Because of staggered finishing dates, not all trainees from 1984, 1985, and 1986 could have reached the three year mark, the two year mark, nor the one year mark respectively. A few from 1986 might also not have had time to reach nine months at the time surveys were returned.

* breakdown by year-- At all points in time, the retention rate decreases with each successive placement year. Up to the year mark, the rate at which trainees are leaving their placement sites for the 1985 and 1986 groups is also greater than for 1984. We might conjecture that the increasingly stronger economy of the mid-eighties provided trainees with more opportunities outside of their original placement sites than in earlier years.

* comparisons with previous studies-- Although comparable at the 90 day point, retention rates at one year compared with the previous study appear to be lower. 74% of the 1982 group were still at their original placement sites at twelve months (incomplete data is available for 1983). 1982 was a bad recession year.

VIII. COMPARISONS BETWEEN THOSE STAYING AT THEIR ORIGINAL SITES A YEAR OR MORE AND THOSE LEAVING BEFORE THE END OF A YEAR

All statistics which follow have been adjusted to exclude those trainees from 1986 who could not have had the opportunity to be on the job a full year.

* breakdown by year-- **Overall, 49% of all respondents stayed on the job a year or more.** By placement year, these percentages for 1984, 1985, and 1986 are 60%, 44.2%, and 41.2% respectively.

* gender differences-- **Women are somewhat more likely than men to stay longer at their original placement sites.** At the one year mark, 56% of women are still at their original settings compared with only 39% of the men.

* age comparisons-- The mean age of those on the job for more than one year is 28.7 compared with 25.5 for on the job less than one year.

* differences in training period-- The mean number of months at Inner City is 6.5 for the longer term employees and 5.8 for those who left sooner.

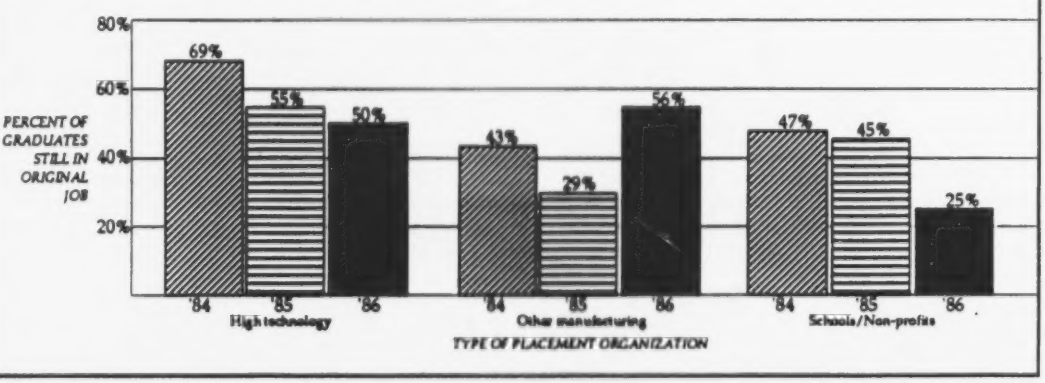
* marital status differences-- At the one year and above mark, a much greater percentage of women than men is married (23.5% compared with 12.5%) whereas among those who stay at their original sites less than one year, women are less likely to be married than men (7.1% compared with 15.6%).

* comparison of childlessness-- There are no differences in childlessness between those staying on the job less than twelve months and those staying more. Approximately half of each group has children. This finding contradicts some of the previous research.

* educational differences-- Additional education is somewhat more likely to affect men's retention rate than women's. Women who stay on jobs a year or more are no more likely to have attended grade twelve than those who stay less than one year (slightly more than half of both groups.) However, men who are employed more than a year are slightly more likely to have attended grade twelve than those who remain with their placement site for less than a year (65.9% compared with 56%).

* percent still in job after one year by type of placement organization--

FIGURE 3. *Trainees still in job after one year, by placement year and type of organization.*



Those working in high-technology are the only group at least as likely to be working after one year as not. Among those in other manufacturing settings, the results are less consistent. More recent trainees were more likely to stay in other manufacturing jobs than in high-tech, while only 29% of those in the previous class stayed as long as one year. Service industries and non-profits show a slightly less inconsistent pattern--just under half of those placed in 1984 and 1985 stayed on the job for a year or more, whereas only one quarter of the 1986 group stayed that long.

* gender comparisons by type of placement organization-- Both men and women in high tech manufacturing are more likely to have stayed in their jobs more than one year than those in other manufacturing and service industries.

* **wage comparisons**-- The literature suggests that reward for work in the form of wages encourages retention. The pattern here is somewhat deviant from what we would expect. In 1984, those staying on the job a year or more had slightly higher starting wages than those who left. In 1985 the two groups are comparable, and in 1986 a startling reversal takes place. Those in the job a year or more had substantially lower starting wages than those who did not stay on their jobs. (The range for both groups was almost identical--approximately $4.00 to $8.00.) Possibly, those earning more had better skills and in the good job market of 1986 were able to find new gainful employment elsewhere. Those earning less initially may have received high raises in the course of the year and thus felt encouraged to stay.

IX. A MODEL FOR EXAMINING FACTORS RELATED TO RETENTION

Finally, a model was constructed to show which variables were associated with staying on the job a year or more versus staying on the job less than a year. The model allows us to see the true effect of each variable in the model while holding the other variables constant. However, the variables in this study explain only about 20% of what accounts for trainees staying on the job, suggesting that a number of other factors, not measured, are contributing to retention.

The variables which appear to make a difference are age, gender, placement year, whether the placement organization was high tech or not, and months in the program. These factors have all been illustrated in the previous discussion. Holding all other variables constant, we can say that --

the probability of staying in the first placement site for a year or more versus staying less than a year--

--increased by 14.6% with every additional ten years of age
--increased 16.8% with every additional six months of training at Inner City

and the odds of staying in the first placement site for a year or more versus staying on the site for less than a year were **almost two times greater** if--

--the placement year was 1984 than if it is 1985 or 1986, or
--the placement occured in a high technology organization, or
--the trainee was a woman

No one finding is dramatic, but in combination, these variables had a tremendous impact on the likelihood that a graduate would stay at his/her job placement site. To illustrate--

A 35 year old woman, placed in high-tech in 1984, with six months at Inner City had an 83% probability of still being in her original placement site at the one year mark.

An 18 year old man, placed in 1985 or 1986, in an organization other than high-tech, with three months in the program had only an 11% probability of remaining at his original work place after one year.

In addition, as was shown, marital status has an impact on retention rates, in opposite directions for men and women. Married women were more likely to stay on

the job than single women, but married men were less likely to stay on the job than single men. Given the large number of single people with children, one explanation for this phenomenom is that single women with children may have found that staying home was a better alternative to dealing with difficult day care problems. Married women did not necessarily have this option. The differences between single and married men are not great enough to speculate about the reasons. Overall, the percentage of trainees who are married is relatively low so that the effect of this variable may not be large.

X. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, we have presented a general profile of Inner City graduates of 1984, 1985, and 1986; shown some of the variations among these groups; summarized data on those who remain employed; discussed separation patterns for those no longer employed at their original sites; and offered some comparisons between those who stayed at their placement organizations a year or more and those who stayed less. Profiles were based on a census of graduates, with 100% of information available on most variables. Barring excessive inaccuracies among respondents, we can feel confident about our findings based on an excellent response rate.

The most interesting and perhaps useful data to emerge from this study are the comparisons between those who stayed at their placement sites for a year or more and those who stayed less than a year. A year was selected because it represents a a relatively stable time period over which to be employed and because approximately one half of this whole group remained at their placement sites at least a year. Not all findings agreed with the previous research. As in other studies, older workers tend to remain employed longer. However, gender proved to be significant in our study but not consistently so in other studies. Other factors, such as wage rate, firm size, firm location, and marital status, have been important elsewhere but were not predictors of retention for Inner City for this time period.

Additionally, we found that the type of organization, placement year, and months spent in training at Inner City, Inc. made a difference in retention. Those placed in high technology firms were much more likely to stay in their original placement sites than those in other manufacturing or service jobs. Without talking with trainees, it is difficult to know the precise impact of this type of environment on the decision to stay, but we might guess that the rapid growth in this field provides some sense that opportunity exists, even though actual promotions may not yet have occurred. Far fewer placements are now being made in high technology work sites, perhaps accounting for some of the decline in retention. The service sector, the growing target of Inner City placements, may provide less inherently satisfying work, fewer role models, and/or a less optimistic future than does high technology. It may also be that the general work environment within high technology is more similar to the work environment at Inner City, Inc.

Graduates placed in 1984, even holding other variables constant, were twice as likely to stay a year or more at their original placement sites than those from 1985 or 1986. Labor market circumstances are the most probable cause of this discrepancy. In 1984 the country was just pulling out of a recession, and workers may have been more cautious about leaving secure positions than in the later years. Finally, our study indicates that trainees who stay more months at Inner City are more likely to stay a year or more at their placement sites. The obvious explanation is that additional time in the program makes a difference in employee

readiness. It is also possible that the type of person who would remain longer in a training program would also remain at a work site longer, or that those who spent less time at Inner City, Inc., may have been more job ready and once employed may have found new opportunities elsewhere more readily.

What do all these findings mean for Inner City and for other similar training programs? As we have seen, those factors which are positively associated with retention are not necessarily causing retention. In addition to the fact that some variables, like placement year, are not controllable, we may not want to manipulate others just to guarantee greater retention. Young men may not stay on jobs as long as older women, but they may need the experience of Inner City just as much, if not more. High technology sites may insure a longer employment tenure overall, but without knowing why, we do not necessarily want to increase placement opportunities there at the expense of the now growing service sector.

Although retention rates appear to have decreased over the last few years, many explanations, independent of either the efforts of Inner City or the presence of the factors discussed, may have contributed to this. Clearly, there are many dimensions to retention of Inner City graduates which we cannot understand from this study. Five unknown areas are most apparent--labor market forces in the different time periods (job availability, layoff rates), individual work chronologies (where did the trainees go when the left their original sites--to better jobs elsewhere?); attitudinal information (how motivated was the employee, did s/he believe in his/her ability to do the work), other personal information (past work history, welfare status, ability level), and organizational factors (supervision, promotional possibilities, reward structures).

Without similar comparison groups, we are unable to show how the training received at Inner City is directly related to retention. However, it is known that the majority of trainees have non-existent or very sporadic and transient work histories. In addition, the unemployment rate for this population is normally three to four times the city, state, and national averages. The annual separation rate for all occupations is 17.8% (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics). Occupations which require little education typically have separation rates well over 40% per year. Government training and employment programs have traditionally judged their successes by using only a three month job retention period as the standard. Thus, the fact that so many Inner City graduates remain in their placement jobs for at least one year suggests that something positive is occurring. These data should offer some encouragement for others in the training field.

We suggest that future studies try to examine some of the other factors mentioned above. More frequent follow-up (perhaps on a yearly basis) might make it easier to track graduates who have left their original placement sites. In addition, collection of information on some additional variables, such as ability level and work history, might provide some new insights about factors related to graduates' retention. Finally, extensive qualitative data from employers might highlight more clearly Inner City's contributions to workers' abilities to stay on the job as well as areas for improvement.

Although no obvious prescription for change surfaces from our data, we do hope that this study provides some new understanding of the trainee in relation to the workplace and has added to the much too sparse literature on this subject.

Appendix A

POLAROID/INNER CITY, INC.

Summary of Retention Study Findings
Covering Placements in 1979-1984

YEAR	# PLACED	# COVERED BY SURVEY	STILL ON JOB AT SURVEY	INVOL TERM.*	VOL. TERM
		1982 STUDY			
1979	96	61 (64%)	27 (44%)	11 (18%)	18 (30%)
1980	128	116 (91%)	60 (52%)	24 (21%)	21 (18%)
1981	81	75 (93%)	53 (71%)	1 (1%)	16 (21%)
		1983 STUDY			
1981	81	60 (74%)	32 (53%)	17 (28%)	11 (18%)
1982	62	61 (98%)	42 (69%)	12 (20%)	7 (11%)
1983	20**	20 (100%)	16 (80%)	-	4 (20%)
		1984 STUDY			
1982	62	57 (92%)	30 (53%)	14 (25%)	9 (16%)
1983	94	85 (90%)	49 (58%)	19 (22%)	17 (20%)
1984	45**	41 (91%)	28 (68%)	11 (27%)	2 (5%)

* Includes individuals terminated by lay-off.
** First Quarter only.

We are writing to you, an employer of one or more recent graduates of Inner City, to determine how well our training program has met your needs and the needs of our trainees.

As you may know, for about 20 years Polaroid has been operating Polaroid/Inner City, Inc. a training program for unemployed and underemployed inner city residents.

The program is designed to provide trainees with the tools necessary not only to obtain a job, but to keep one, as well. A major measure of the success of our program is the retention rate of graduates once they have been placed in permanent jobs. Thus, retention feedback from companies such as yours is crucial for our program and helps us facilitate meaningful changes in our training format.

On the attached two-page survey are questions about the status of Inner City trainees who have been placed with your company. Would you kindly complete the form (perhaps with the assistance from each employee's supervisor) and return it to me by August 7, 1987.

All information provided on an individual basis will be kept confidential and anonymous and we will provide you with the results of the overall retention study once it has been completed. Please do not hesitate to contact me at 577-4615 if you have any questions or concerns about this request.

On behalf of Polaroid, I want to thank you for your contribution to our program and we look forward to your continued involvement with Inner City.

Sincerely,
POLAROID/INNER CITY, INC.

Linda J. Mello
Personnel Administrator

LJM/bb
Enclosure

Appendix B-2

POLAROID/INNER CITY JOB PLACEMENT RETENTION SURVEY

Would you kindly answer the following questions about the individual named below:

(1) Is the individual named above still employed by your company?
1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No (If No, please skip to Question 5.)

(2) Is her/his job title still the same as listed above?
1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

A. If No, please write her/his new title: _____

B. Please check the reason for the employee's change in title:
1. ____ Lateral transfer
2. ____ Promotion
3. ____ Reclassification/reorganization
4. ____ Other (Please specify.) _____

_____

(3) What is her/his current hourly wage, or weekly salary?

(Please specify.) _____ per hour, or _____ per week

A. How many hours per week does s/he normally work? _____

(4) What is this individual's overall performance level?
1. ____ Above average 2. ____ Average 3. ____ Below average

Please answer Questions 5-7 only if the individual is no longer with your company. Otherwise, go on to Question 8.

(5) If the individual is no longer with your company, what was the reason?
1. ____ Termination 2. ____ Resignation 3. ____ Layoff

A. What was the date of separation? _____
Month Day Year

(6) If the employee was terminated, what was the reason?
1. ____ Absenteeism 2. ____ Performance 3. ____ Other

A. If Other, please specify: _____

_____

(7) If the employee resigned, what was the reason?

1. ___ Personal/Health
2. ___ School/Training
3. ___ Another job
4. ___ Didn't like job
5. ___ Day care problems
6. ___ Transportation problems
7. ___ Didn't like supervisor
8. ___ Not known
9. ___ Other (Please specify.)

_____

_____

(8) If the employee was laid off or resigned, would you re-hire her/him?
1. ____ Yes 2. ____ No

(9) What areas of Inner City training would you like to have strengthened?

1. ___ Attendance
2. ___ Work attitude
3. ___ Performance
4. ___ Co-worker relations
5. ___ Relationship with supervisor
6. ___ None
7. ___ Other (Please specify.)

_____

_____

(10) Please use this space for any further suggestions you would like to make regarding the Inner City training program or any additional comments about this employee.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP. Please return this questionnaire to:

Tim Moore
Personnel Department
Polaroid/Inner City, Inc.
716 Columbus Avenue
Roxbury, MA 02120

Appendix C

Profile of All Graduates by Year of Placement

Variables	1984	1985	1986	TOTAL
Gender-% male	46%	36%	53%	45%
Median age	23	23.5	28	25
% Minority	98%	99%	99%	99%
% Married	10%	14%	27%	17%
% With children	47%	53%	48%	49%
% Attended grade 12 (self-reported)	63%	51%	68%	61%
Median months at Inner City	5.5	6	5	6
Median starting wage	$5.05	$5.30	$6.00	$5.30
% placed in hi-tech organizations	50%	44%	19%	39%
% in firm with more than 500 employees	64%	45%	64%	58%
% in firm outside Rt. 128	42%	32%	27%	35%